

Message Text

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PAGE 01 BUDAPE 02915 01 OF 02 220729Z
ACTION EUR-12

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION USNATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUDAPEST 2915

E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: HU, UR, XH, EEWT, MARR, PARM, PINT, SHUM, GW
SUBJECT: HARRIMAN VISIT -- MEETINGS WITH FOREIGN MINISTER PUJA
AND PRIME MINISTER LAZAR

1. SUMMARY: FOCUS OF DISCUSSION IN SEPARATE MEETINGS
BETWEEN GOVERNOR AVERELL HARRIMAN AND FOREIGN MINISTER PUJA,
THEN PRIME MINISTER LAZAR, WAS ON U.S.-HUNGARIAN AND EAST-
WEST RELATIONS. TWO HUNGARIAN LEADERS AFFIRMED THEIR COM-
MITMENT TO EXPANDING RELATIONS WITH U.S., PUJA NOTING THIS
SHOULD EXTEND TO POLITICAL AND CULTURAL AS WELL AS ECONOMIC
SPHERES. GOVERNOR HARRIMAN, ALTHOUGH EMPHASIZING THE PRESIDENT'S
DETERMINATION TO PURSUE NEGOTIATIONS FOR SALTII AND COMPREHENSIVE
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PAGE 02 BUDAPE 02915 01 OF 02 220729Z

TEST BAN AGREEMENT, NOTED SOVIET ACTIONS IN BUILDING UP ITS ARMED
FORCES IN EUROPE, SEEKING POLITICAL ADVANTAGE IN AFRICA AND
PURSUING SHCHARANSKY TRIAL IN PARTICULAR HAVING VERY ADVERSE EFFECT
IN U.S. ON QUESTION OF DISSIDENT TRIALS IN SOVIET UNION, PUJA
REITERATED SEVERAL TIMES THAT THROUGH SILENCE MUCH CAN BE ACHIEVED.
LAZAR TOLD HARRIMAN THAT HUNGARY IS AN OPEN ECONOMY AND WOULD
NOT ACCEPT A SOLUTION TO ITS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WHICH WOULD

PRODUCE ECONOMIC STAGNATION OR MEAN A SETBACK IN STANDARD OF LIVING OF HUNGARIAN PEOPLE. END SUMMARY.

2. GOVERNOR HARRIMAN WAS ACCOMPANIED TO MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER FRIGYES PUJA BY AMBASSADOR KAISER. ON HUNGARIAN SIDE, DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER JANOS NAGY, AMBASSADOR JANOS BARTHA AND AMBASSADOR FERENC ESZTERGALYOS WERE PRESENT. PUJA BEGAN IN STANDARD FASHION BY STRESSING HUNGARIAN DEPENDENCE ON FOREIGN TRADE. HE SAID HUNGARY STILL SUFFERING FROM DEPRESSED ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IN WEST. HE THEN POINTED OUT THAT FEARS WERE BEGINNING TO BE RAISED FOR FUTURE OF DETENTE AND STRESSED HOW GOH WISHED TO AVOID RETURN TO COLD WAR DAYS OF PAST. FOR THIS TO BE AVOIDED, PUJA OPINED, CONFIDENCE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST MUST BE ESTABLISHED THROUGH MORE MEETINGS BETWEEN LEADERS OF TWO SIDES, AS WELL AS THROUGH COOPERATION IN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FIELDS.

3. PUJA UNDERLINED THAT AS FAR AS HUNGARY WAS CONCERNED, "DOOR IS OPEN FOR WIDER RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. WE ARE READY FOR THE WIDEST POSSIBLE RELATIONS WITH THE U.S.," HE ADDED, " IN ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND CULTURAL AREAS." HE GAVE HISTORY OF HUNGARIAN BILATERAL CSCE INITIATIVES WITH NINETEEN WESTERN COUNTRIES, INCLUDING U.S., AND SAID FURTHER PROGRESS ON HELSINKI IMPLEMENTATION WOULD BE EASIEST TO ACHIEVE IN BILATERAL SPHERE. HOWEVER, MULTILATERAL SPHERE SHOULD NOT BE NEGLECTED AND PERHAPS ONE COULD MOVE FORWARD THROUGH COMBINATION OF TWO METHODS.

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PAGE 03 BUDAPE 02915 01 OF 02 220729Z

4. IN DISCUSSION HUNGARY'S LINKS WITH WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, PUJA LEFT NO DOUBT THAT PRIORITY GOES TO WEST GERMANY. HE SAID GOH FEARFUL THAT FRG SEEKING TO PRESERVE "FIELD OF MANEUVER" FOR EXPANSION OF ITS ARMED FORCES. PUJA WAS NOT WORRIED ABOUT CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT'S INTENTIONS BUT MORE ABOUT FUTURE CHANCELLORS. PUJA WENT ON TO SAY THAT GOH WANTED DEVELOPED FURTHER ITS RELATIONS WITH FRANCE. UNFORTUNATELY, UK WAS TOO PREOCCUPIED WITH ITS INTERNAL PROBLEMS.

5. FORSEEING A CONCERN OF THE GOVERNOR'S, PUJA ADDRESSED AFRICAN QUESTION SAYING THAT SOCIALIST COUNTRIES WENT ONLY WHERE THEY WERE REQUESTED TO GO ON APPEAL BY A LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT. THEY WOULD LEAVE A COUNTRY IF ASKED TO DO SO BY ITS GOVERNMENT AS THEY LEFT EGYPT AND SOMALIA.

6. GOVERNOR HARRIMAN NOTED HE WAS HAPPY ABOUT IMPROVEMENT OF U.S.-HUNGARIAN BILATERAL LINKS AND WENT ON TO ADD THAT HE WAS GLAD TO HAVE OPPORTUNITY TO TALK WITH LEADERS OF HUNGARY BECAUSE OF THEIR INTIMATE RELATIONSHIP WITH MOSCOW AND ALSO BECAUSE OF THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARDS WEST AND TOWARDS THEIR OWN PEOPLE. GOVERNOR THEN GAVE FRANK AND VIVID ACCOUNT OF AMERICAN CONCERN OVER SOVIET ARMS BUILDUP IN EUROPE, CITING SOME FACTS AND FIGURES. WHILE HE SAID

SOVIETS WERE DEFENSE-MINDED IT WAS BEGINNING TO APPEAR AS THOUGH
THEY MIGHT BE CONTEMPLATING THE USE OF PREPONDERANT MILITARY POWER
FOR POLITICAL GAIN. DESPITE THESE GENUINE FEARS IN WEST, THE
GOVERNOR SAID WE WERE ENCOURAGED BY SERIOUSNESS OF SOVIET

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PAGE 01 BUDAPE 02915 02 OF 02 220751Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BUDAPEST 2915

RECENT MBFR PROPOSAL. GOVERNOR EMPHASIZED IMPORTANCE OF MBFR TALKS.
FRG WAS CLOSE U.S. ALLY AND U.S. HAD SUCCESSFULLY ENCOURAGE IT TO TAKE

A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN EUROPE.

7. AFTER GIVING HUNGARY CREDIT FOR ITS CONSTRUCTIVE ACTIONS ON
CSCE IMPLEMENTATION, GOVERNOR HARRIMAN NOTED THAT SOVIET ACTION IN
TRYING SHCHARANSKY WAS A DIRECT AFFRONT TO PRESIDENT CARTER INASMUCH
AS PRESIDENT HAD PERSONALLY DENIED SHCHARANSKY WAS A CIA AGENT.
HE SAID THAT ALTHOUGH PUBLIC OPINION POLLS IN U.S. SHOWED OVER
70 PERCENT OF AMERICANS BACKED DETENTE AND SALT II, OTHER POLLS
SHOWED THAT PUBLIC IS SUSPICIOUS OF SOVIET INTENTIONS. NET
RESULT OF SOVIET ACTIONS IN BOLSTERING THEIR ARMAMENTS IN EUROPE,

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PAGE 02 BUDAPE 02915 02 OF 02 220751Z

PURSUING SHCHARANSKY TRIAL AND IN AFRICA WERE TO FAN THOSE SUSPICIONS.

GOVERNOR REFERRED TO THE PROGRESS MADE IN PRESENT TALKS BETWEEN SECRETARY VANCE AND FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO ON SALT, AND THE KEY ROLE VANCE HAD IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS. GOVERNOR HARRIMAN CONCLUDED HIS REMARKS BY STRONGLY AFFIRMING THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITMENT TO SALT II AND HIS DETERMINATION TO ACT DECISIVELY IN SUPPORT OF A FAIR AGREEMENT AS WELL AS IN OTHER DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS.

8. PUJA, WHO WAS HIMSELF TAKING NOTES ALONG WITH HUNGARIAN RAPPORTEUR, REPLIED WITH STANDARD LINE ON DISARMAMENT, TO WIT: THERE IS AN EXISTING MILITARY BALANCE IN THE WORLD AND IN EUROPE TOO WHEN ITEMS SUCH AS TACTICAL WEAPONS AND AIRPOWER WERE INCLUDED. TACITLY ACCEPTING HARRIMAN'S POINTS ON SHCHARANSKY, PUJA QUOTED CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT TO EFFECT THAT WITH SILENCE YOU CAN ACHIEVE MANY THINGS. HE CITED EXAMPLE THAT IN 1959 HUNGARY HAD DELAYED POLITICAL AMNESTY BECAUSE OF WESTERN PRESSURE AND THAT SOVIETS WOULD CONTINUE THEIR PRESENT COURSE IF WEST PRESSED THEM PUBLICLY. HE SAID FRG HAD SHOWN INTELLIGENT ATTITUDE BY WAY IT HAD QUIETLY GAINED ITS ENDS WITH RESPECT TO THE RETURN OF MANY GERMANS FROM THE EAST.

9. ONLY HUNGARIANS PRESENT AT LAZAR MEETING WERE A TRANSLATOR, AMBASSADOR ESZTERGALYOS AND FOREIGN MINISTER PUJA. AMBASSADOR KAISER WAS PRESENT. LAZAR TOO ATTACHED GREAT IMPORTANCE TO IMPROVING U.S.-HUNGARIAN RELATIONS WHICH, HE SAID, HUNGARY WOULD DO ALL IN ITS POWER TO DEVELOP FURTHER. HE EMPHASIZED ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THOSE RELATIONS. HE REPEATED POINT THAT HUNGARY DEPENDENT ON FOREIGN TRADE AND HAD OPEN ECONOMY WHICH NEEDS TO BE INTEGRATED WITH WORLD ECONOMIES. LAZAR TOLD GOVERNOR HARRIMAN THAT HUNGARY WOULD NOT ACCEPT A SOLUTION TO ITS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WHICH WOULD PRODUCE ECONOMIC STAGNATION OR MEAN A SETBACK IN STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE.

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PAGE 03 BUDAPE 02915 02 OF 02 220751Z

10. PRAISING AGAIN U.S.-HUNGARIAN AGREEMENT ON MFN, LAZAR CONTRASTED U.S. ACTION IN THIS REGARD WITH CONTINUED DISCRIMINATION OF EEC AGAINST HUNGARY. HE SAID GOH DID NOT EXPECT SPECTACULAR RESULTS FROM MFN IN NEAR TERM BUT THOUGHT U.S.-HUNGARIAN TRADE AGREEMENT WAS NONETHELESS VERY IMPORTANT.

11. GOVERNOR HARRIMAN REVIEWED CONSTRUCTIVE EVOLUTION OF U.S.-HUNGARIAN RELATIONS AND ROLE PRESIDENT HAD IN CROWN DECISION. HE

THEN REITERATED MAINLINES OF POINTS HE HAD MADE TO PUJA ON
DISARMAMENT, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND EAST-WEST RELATIONS, EXPRESSING
HOPE LAZAR WOULD TRY TO UNDERSTAND WESTERN POSITION AND ENCOURAGE
HIS COUNTERPARTS IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES TO SEEK A LIKE UNDERSTANDING.

12. LAZAR REPLIED TO THE FOREIGN POLICY AND HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS
RAISED BY GOVERNOR BUT HIS RESPONSES LACKED NUANCES GOING BEYOND
OFFICIAL LINE WHICH COULD BE GLEANED FROM CONVERSATION WITH PUJA.
THIS WAS NATURAL IN VIEW OF LAZAR'S CONCENTRATION ON ECONOMIC MATTERS
WITHIN GOH. SPECIFICALLY LAZAR SAID HE WAS CONFIDENT A SALT II
AGREEMENT WOULD BE REACHED. HE THOUGHT THAT POLITICAL LEADERS
ON BOTH SIDES WOULD BE ABLE TO KEEP THE MILITARY MEN IN THE RIGHT
PLACE; THAT IS, MAKE THEM RECOGNIZE POLITICAL AS WELL AS MILITARY
IMPERATIVES. GOH FAVORED DETENTE AND DISARMAMENT. THE PRACTICE
OF HUNGARY DEMONSTRATES THEIR INTEREST IN HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS,
LAZAR ADDED. BUT WHILE HUNGARIAN ACTIONS WERE DIFFERENT FROM THOSE
OF THEIR ALLIES IN SPECIFIC INSTANCES, THEY HELD THE SAME PRINCIPLES
AS THOSE ALLIES.

13. THE MEETING CLOSED CORDIALLY WITH GOVERNOR HARRIMAN
EXPRESSING THE HOPE THAT BEFORE TOO LONG PRIME MINISTER LAZAR MIGHT
VISIT THE UNITED STATES, AT WHICH TIME THE GOVERNOR COULD MEET WITH
HIM AGAIN.

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